

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
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FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO AMCONSUL FLORENCE
AMCONSUL GENOA
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AMCONSUL PALERMO
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AMCONSUL TURIN
INFO SECSTATE 4276

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 ROME 13411

NOFORN

FOR PRINCIPAL OFFICER FROM THE AMBASSADOR

SECSTATE FOR EUR/WE)

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, IT
SUBJECT: CONTACTS WITH ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, PDUP-DP,
MSI-DN, DEMOCRAZIA NAZIONALE, CGIL AND CISNAL OFFICIALS

REF: EMBASSY MEMORANDUM OF JUNE 21, 1977

1. THERE ARE SET FORTH HERewith REVISED GUIDELINES
REGARDING CONTACTS WITH ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI),
PDUP-DP, MSI-DN (MSI), AND DEMOCRAZIA NAZIONALE,
THESE GUIDELINES SUPERSEDE THOSE
ISSUED ON JUNE 21, 1977. IN FORMULATING THESE GUIDELINES,
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WE HAVE DRAWN UPON GUIDANCE RECEIVED FROM WASHINGTON AND
UPON OUR PERCEPTION OF THE CURRENT ITALIAN POLITICAL
SYSTEM. I CONSIDER IT IMPERATIVE THAT THESE GUIDELINES
BE READ AND BE STRICTLY ADHERED TO BY ALL AMERICAN
MEMBERS OF YOUR STAFF. OBVIOUSLY, THESE GUIDELINES
SHOULD NOT BE APPLIED MECHANICALLY BUT INSTEAD SHOULD
BE IMPLEMENTED EXERCISING A MAXIMUM AMOUNT OF DIS-

CRETION, GOOD JUDGEMENT AND COMMON SENSE.

INTRODUCTION

2. EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN THAT THE ACTIONS OF UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS IN ITALY, PARTICULARLY THE DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR REPRESENTATIVES, ARE SUBJECT TO CLOSE SCRUTINY BY POLITICAL AND MEDIA CIRCLES. GIVEN THE CHARGED POLITICAL CLIMATE WHICH PREVAILS IN ITALY, WE CAN CONTINUE TO EXPECT THAT CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS OR GROUPS WILLBE TRYING TO INTERPRET (OR MISINTERPRET) OUR ACTIONS FOR ONE PURPOSE OR ANOTHER TO SERVE THEIR OWN POLITICAL OBJECTIVES. GIVEN THESE CONSTRAINTS EXISTING HERE, WE HAVE THE DIFFICULT TASK IN CARRYING OUT OUT MISSION OF MAINTAINING THE CONCEPT OF AN OPEN EMBASSY, ATTTUNED TO AND AWARE OF THE PROBLEMS OF THE COUNTRY TO THE GREATEST EXTENT POSSIBLE, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME AVOIDING MOVES WHICH COULD BE INTERPRETED AS FAVORING SOLUTIONS NOT CONSISTENT WITH OUR POLICY OBJECTIVES.

3. I ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE EFFORT OF OUR ENTIRE COUNTRY TEAM TO PROJECT AN IMAGE OF AMERICA WHICH IS IN THE SPIRIT OF OUT BEST TRADITIONS. THE HANDLING OF CONTACTS WITH OFFICIALS OF THE PCI AND THE CGIL REPRESENTS A PARTICULARLY DELICATE PROBLEM AND
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CHALLENGE FOR US. CONSEQUENTLY, CHANGES IN THESE AREAS WILL BE GRADUAL, EXERCISING PRUDENCRE IN ACCORDANCE WITH EXISTING INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE DEPARTMENT.

CONTACTS WITH THE PCI

4. WHILE NOT DESIRING TO INTERFERE IN ITALIAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO OPPOSE, AS A MATTER OF POLICY, THE ENTRY OF THE PCI INTO AN ITALIAN GOVERNMENT. THEREFORE, WHILE ENCOURAGING ITALIANS TO WORK OUT THEIR PROBLEMS IN A TRULY DEMOCRATIC MANNER, WE SHOULD AVOID ANY ACTIONS WHICH ENHANCE THE STATURE OF THE PCI OR GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT WE HAVE CHANGED OUR ATTITUDE ABOUT IT. WE MUST REMAIN ALERT TO THE FACT THAT EXPANSION OF CONTACTS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PCI CAN HAVE IMPORTANCE NEGATIVE ASPECTS: PUBLICIZED MEETINGS WITH AMERICAN OFFICIALS HAVE THE POTENTIAL OF CONVEYING AN APPEARANCE OF ACCEPTABILITY.

5. AT THE SAME TIME, WE MUST REMAIN COGNIZANT OF THE PCI REALITY OF THE ITALIAN POLITICAL SCENE, THE PARTY

HAVING GAINED MORE THAN 34 PERCENT OF THE VOTES IN THE LAST NATIONAL ELECTIONS AND BEING IN LOCAL GOVERNING COALITIONS IN AREAS IN WHICH MORE THAN 50 PERCENT OF THE ITALIAN POPULATION LIVES. WITHIN THIS REALITY, INCREASED CONTACTS OFFER THE OPPORTUNITY NOT ONLY TO LEARN MORE ABOUT THE PARTY BUT ALSO TO INFLUENCE IT, TEST ITS POSITIONS, AND PROVIDE IT WITH A BETTER UNDERSTANDING ABOUT U.S. GOVERNMENT VIEWS AND CONCERNS.

6. THE DEPARTMENT HAS AUTHORIZED CONTACTS WITH PCI OFFICIALS WHETHER OR NOT HOLDING ELECTED OFFICE, AS I FIND NECESSARY TO THE CONDUCT OF GOVERNMENT BUSINESS. IN AUTHORIZING SUCH CONTACTS, THE DEPARTMENT HAS CAUTIONED AGAINST HASTY INITIATIVES, HAS WARNED THAT
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NEGATIVE FACTORS MUST BE CAREFULLY WEIGHED, AND HAS URGED THAT THE CONTACTS SHOULD BE CONDUCTED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO HAVE THE LEAST POLITICAL IMPACT IN THE COUNTRY.

7. BEARING THE ABOVE FACTORS IN MIND, THE FOLLOWING GUIDELINES ARE SET FOR FUTURE CONTACTS WITH PCI OFFICIALS:

THE EMBASSY

A. BUSINESS CONTACTS

--WE ENVISION A FURTHER, GRADUAL EXPANSION OF CONTACTS WITH PCI OFFICIALS, BOTH ELECTED AND PARTY. IN ADDITION TO EXPANDED CONTACTS BY THE POLITICAL OFFICER RESPONSIBLE FOR COMMUNIST AFFAIRS, OTHER CONTACTS WHICH WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE FURTHERANCE OF OVERALL MISSION OBJECTIVES CAN ALSO BE ESTABLISHED BY SELECTED OFFICERS. FOR

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FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO AMCONSUL FLORENCE

AMCONSUL GENOA

AMCONSUL MILAN

AMCONSUL NAPLES

AMCONSUL PALERMO

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THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF CONTACTS ARE ENVISIONED: TREASURY ATTACHE WITH SELECTED PCI ECONOMIC EXPERTS; PRESS OFFICER WITH L'UNITA JOURNALISTS BELOW THE LEVEL OF EDITOR. OTHER EMBASSY OFFICERS HAVING LEGITIMATE BUSINESS WITH PCI OFFICIALS--E.G., IN THE CULTURAL OR SCIENTIFIC AREA--SHOULD CLEAR THEIR PROPOSED CONTACTS WITH THE COMMUNIST AFFAIRS OFFICER AND WITH OTHER OFFICERS AS APPROPRIATE PRIOR TO INITIATING THEM. IN EXPLAINING OUR CONTACT PROGRAM, WE SHALL WANT TO BE SURE THAT WE ARE ALREADY DOING WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTIES WHAT WE INTEND TO DO WITH PCI CONTACTS.

B. SOCIAL CONTACTS

--GENERALLY, THESE WILL BE MORE RESTRICTIVE SINCE
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THESE ARE LESS NECESSARY FOR THE CONDUCT OF GOVERNMENT BUSINESS. WITHIN THIS CONTEXT, PCI ELECTIVE OFFICIALS, I.E., THE PRESENT PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES AND/OR THE MAYOR OF ROME, WILL BE INVITED TO EMBASSY FUNCTIONS ONLY WHEN PROTOCOL AND THE NATURE OF THE OCCASION MAKE IT APPROPRIATE. THE GUIDANCE IN THIS SECTION SHOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED AS EXCLUDING AN EMBASSY OFFICER FROM INVITING A PCI OFFICIAL, WITH WHOM HE HAS REGULAR CONTACTS, TO A PRIVATE, INFORMAL LUNCHEON AT HIS RESIDENCE. NOTE: SECTION CHIEFS WILL BEAR FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE GUIDELINES, KEEPING FIRMLY IN MIND THE OVERALL PRUDENT AND GRADUAL APPROACH REQUIRED BY THE DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS. FURTHERMORE,

IN THE INTERESTS OF COORDINATION AND CONSISTENCY, ALL CONTACTS WITH PCI OFFICIALS WHO HOLD NATIONAL POSITIONS OR WHO WORK IN THE PARTY'S CENTRAL APPARATUS SHOULD BE DISCUSSED IN ADVANCE WITH THE POLITICAL OFFICER (HARLAN MOEN) RESPONSIBLE FOR FOLLOWING AND REPORTING ON COMMUNIST AFFAIRS. AFTER EVERY SUBSTANTIVE CONTACT, A REPORTING TELEGRAM, MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION, OR A MEMORANDUM TO THE FILE SHOULD BE PROMPTLY PREPARED, WITH A COPY TO MR. MOEN IN EVERY CASE.

THE CONSTITUENT POSTS

A. BUSINESS CONTACTS

--CONSULATE OFFICERS IN THE COURSE OF NORMAL GOVERNMENT BUSINESS ARE AUTHORIZED TO CALL ON LOCAL OFFICIALS ELECTED ON PCI TICKETS. IF THERE IS TO BE AN EXPANSION OVER PAST PRACTICES, THIS SHOULD BE DONE VERY GRADUALLY, WITHOUT A SUDDEN BURST OF NEW ACTIVITY. (FOR THE TIME BEING, UNLESS SPECIFICALLY
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AUTHORIZED, CONSTITUENT POSTS SHOULD AVOID CONTACT WITH PCI PARLIAMENTARIANS AND WITH SENIOR NATIONAL PARTY OFFICIALS OTHER THAN THOSE HOLDING LOCAL OFFICE IN THE CONSULAR DISTRICT, I.E., MAYOR GABBUGGIANI OF FLORENCE WHO IS A MEMBER OF THE PARTY'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE).

--APPROPRIATE CONSULATE OFFICERS ARE AUTHORIZED TO CALL ON CITY, PROVINCIAL AND REGIONAL PCI PARTY OFFICIALS. THESE CALLS SHOULD NORMALLY BE MADE IN CONJUNCTION WITH A SERIES OF CALLS BEING MADE ON OFFICIALS OF VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES. THESE CALLS ON PCI OFFICIALS SHOULD BE SCHEDULED JUDICIOUSLY AND SHOULD NOT OCCUR ON EVERY OCCASION THAT CALLS ARE BEING MADE ON OFFICIALS OF OTHER PARTIES.

B. SOCIAL CONTACTS

--GENERALLY, THESE WILL BE MORE RESTRICTIVE SINCE THEY ARE LESS NECESSARY FOR THE CONDUCT OF GOVERNMENT BUSINESS. WITHIN THIS CONTEXT, PCI-ELECTED LOCAL OFFICIALS CAN BE INVITED TO FUNCTIONS HOSTED BY CONSULATE OFFICERS ONLY WHEN PROTOCOL AND THE NATURE OF THE OCCASION REQUIRE, I.E., A MAYOR AND/OR THE REGIONAL AND PROVINCIAL PRESIDENTS TO A NATIONAL DAY RECEPTION. INDIVIDUALS HOLDING PARTY POSITIONS ONLY NORMALLY SHOULD NOT BE INVITED TO SOCIAL EVENTS HOSTED BY AMERICAN OFFICIALS.

NOTE: PRINCIPAL OFFICERS WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS PROGRAM, KEEPING FIRMLY IN MIND THE OVERALL PRUDENT AND GRADUAL APPROACH REQUIRED BY

EXISTING INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE DEPARTMENT. ANY QUESTIONS ARISING FROM THESE GUIDELINES OR THEIR INTERPRETATION SHOULD BE REFERRED TO HARLAN MOEN IN THE EMBASSY'S POLITICAL SECTION, OR IN HIS ABSENCE TO ALAN FORD, COUNSELOR FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS. FOLLOWING EVERY SUBSTANTIVE CONTACT WITH A PCI REPRESENTATIVE, A REPORTING TELEGRAM, A MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION OR SECRET

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A MEMORANDUM TO THE ILE SHOULD BE PREPARED. A COPY SHOULD ALWAYS BE SENT TO THE EMBASSY FOR THE ATTENTION OF MR. MOEN.

INDEPENDENTS OF THE LEFT

8. GUIDELINES FOR CONTACTS WITH INDEPENDENTS OF THE LEFT, ELECTED ON COMMUNIST TICKETS, ARE THE SAME AS FOR REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PCI.

DP, PDUP, AND OTHER EXTREME LEFT GROUPS

9. FOR THE MOMENT, THERE IS LITTLE ADVANTAGE FOR OUR INTERESTS IN INITIATING DIRECT CONTACTS WITH MEMBERS OF EXTREME-LEFT POLITICAL FORMATIONS. SINCE EXTREME LEFTISTS DO NOT PLAY A SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, THE QUESTION OF CALLS ON SENIOR LOCAL OFFICIALS ELECTED ON EXTREME-LEFT TICKETS SHOULD RARELY COME INTO QUESTION. HOWEVER, THESE ARE AUTHORIZED IN THE RARE INSTANCES IN WHICH THEY MIGHT ARISE. SINCE WE HAVE

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TRADITIONALLY HAD AN OPEN DOOR POLICY, CONSULATE OR EMBASSY OFFICERS SHOULD BE PREPARED TO RECEIVE IN THEIR OFFICES EXTREME-LEFT REPRESENTATIVES WHO ASK TO BE RECEIVED. IN GENERAL, EXTREME-LEFT REPRESENTATIVES WILL NOT BE INVITED TO SOCIAL EVENTS UNLESS REQUIRED BY PROTOCOL OR LOCAL CUSTOM, I.E., A RECEPTION TO WHICH ALL MEMBERS OF A LOCAL COUNCIL ARE INVITED.

CONTACTS WITH THE MSI-DN

10.GIVEN THE POSITION OF THE MSI ON THE ITALIAN POLITICAL SCENE, THERE IS LITTLE ADVANTAGE, AND POTENTIALLY SERIOUS DISADVANTAGE, IN INITIATING DIRECT CONTACTS WITH MEMBERS OF THIS PARTY. SNCE THE PARTY DOES NOT PLAY A SIGNIFICANT FOLE IN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, THE QUESTION OF CALLS ON SENIOR LOCAL OFFICIALS ELECTED
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ON MIS TICKETS SHOULD RARELY COME INTO QUESTION. HOWEVER, THESE ARE AUTHORIZED IN THE RARE INSTANCES IN WHICH THEY MIGHT ARISE. SNCE WE HAVE TRADITIONALLY HAD AN OPEN DOOR POLICY, CONSULATE OR EMBASSY OFFICERS SHOULD BE PREPARED TO SEE IN THEIR OFFICES MIS REPRESENTATIVES WHO ASK TO BE RECEIVED. IN GENERAL, MSI REPRESENTATIVES WILL NOT BE INVITED TO SOCIAL EVENTS UNLESS REQUIRED BY PORTOCOL OR LOCAL CUSTOM, I.E., A RECEPTION TO WHICH ALL MEMBERS OF THE LOCAL COUNCIL ARE INVITED.INDIVIDUALS WHO SERVE IN MSI PARTY POSITIONS SHOULD NOT BE INVITED TO OFFICIAL FUNCTIONS IF THE INVITATINS IS BASED SOLELY ON THE PARTY POST THEY OCCUPY; HOWEVER, A PROMINENT LOCAL BUSINESSMAN WHO ALSO SER ES AS AN MSI OFFICIAL COULD BE INVITED IF CIRCUMSTANCES WARRANTED.

DEMOCRAZIA NAZIONALE (DN)

11. THE DEMOCRAZIA NATIONALE REPRESENTS A POLITICAL GROUPING WHICH BROKE AWAY FROM THE MSI IN 1977 LARGELY BECAUSE ITS FOUNDING MEMBERS DO NOT SHARE SOME OF THE MSI'S EXTREME RIGHT POSITIONS. NEVERTHELESS, ALL THE NATIONAL DN PARLIAMENTARIANS WERE ELECTED ON THE MISI TICKETS, AND THUS THEY ARE, IN ITALIAN EYES, TAINTED

BY THEIR PREVIOUS ASSOCIATION WITH THAT GROUP. INITIAL INDICATIONS ARE THAT THE DN HAS NOT SUCCEEDED IN BUILDING A PARTY APPARATUS CAPABLE OF DEVELOPING A MEASURE OF ELECTORAL SUPPORT FOR THE PARTY. ON THE OTHER HAND, CERTAIN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC POLITICIANS HAVE INDICATED THROUGH THEIR ACTIONS THE DESIRABILITY OF EVENTUALLY BRINGING THE DN INTO A WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH A GOVERNING MAJORITY, THUS RECOVERING VOTES TRADITIONALLY LOST ON THE RIGHT OF THE ITALIAN POLITICAL SPECTRUM. WHILE WE SHALL STILL WANT TO BE CAUTIOUS, WE
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SHALL WANT TO BE SOMEWHAT MORE FORTHCOMING IN CONTACTS WITH DN REPRESENTATIVES THAN WE ARE WITH MSI REPRESENTATIVES. ACCORDINGLY, AS PART OF OUR TRADITIONAL OPEN DOOR POLICY, CONSULATE AND EMBASSY OFFICERS SHOULD BE PREPARED TO SEE IN THEIR OFFICES DN REPRESENTATIVES WHO ASK TO BE RECEIVED. ADDITIONALLY, HAVING ONE RECEIVED A DN REPRESENTATIVE, A CONSULATE OR EMBASSY OFFICER IS AUTHORIZED TO MAINTAIN THE CONTACT ON AN OCCASIONAL BASIS, INCLUDING A CALL ON THE INDIVIDUAL CONCERNED AT HIS OFFICE. FROM THE MOMENT, WE WILL CONTINUE TO REFRAIN FROM EXTENDING INVITATIONS TO SOCIAL EVENTS TO DN REPRESENTATIVES UNLESS REQUIRED BY PROTOCOL OR LOCAL CUSTOM, E.G., A RECEPTION TO WHICH ALL MEMBERS OF THE LOCAL COUNCIL ARE INVITED. INDIVIDUALS WHO SERVE IN DN PARTY POSITIONS ONLY SHOULD NOT BE INVITED TO OFFICIAL FUNCTIONS IF THE INVITATION IS BASED SOLELY ON THE PARTY POST THEY OCCUPY; HOWEVER, A PROMINENT LOCAL BUSINESSMAN WHO ALSO SERVES AS A DN OFFICIAL COULD BE INVITED IF CIRCUMSTANCES WARRANTED.

12. GUIDELINES FOR CONTACTS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF CGIL AND CISNAL WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF A SEPARATE TELEGRAM. GARDNER

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Message Attributes

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